Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*

Editorial Office 1323 M STREET, WASHINGTON 5, D.C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066

VOL. IV, NO. 9, *Issue Number* 161, FEBRUARY 26, 1947 ★ *Editors:* FELIX MORLEY & FRANK C. HANIGHEN

JAPAN WATCHES MARSHALL

By Kiyoshi K. Kawakami

The peculiar kind of freedom of speech bestowed upon Japan by the democratic Allies places a virtual injunction upon frank discussion of international affairs by its press. Naturally, Japanese public comment on the change of occupancy in the Secretaryship of State at Washington could only be perfunctory.

Yet, even to a novice in diplomacy it is obvious that the sequence of recent developments in China, which climaxed in General Marshall's sudden departure from Nanking, his succession to Secretary of State Byrnes and the recall of American "peace-teams" and marines from that tortured country, has a vital bearing upon Japan -- upon its future security and upon its status vis-à-vis the Big Powers interested in that part of the world.

Current news from China, though often distorted and misleading because of Chinese censorship, bids us stop and ponder. When one reads of the currency collapse, of the feverish effort to cope with its disastrous effects and of the seemingly endless continuation of civil strife, one wonders what is to become of this contemporary version of the "sick man of the East," as Turkey was once called.

And if there is little hope of the sick man ever getting well, who is to be the residuary legatee? That position is coveted by more than one aspirant, but largely by two, both titanic in prowess, both with enormous resources, both armed with deadly instruments of war.

If the United Nations, which for all practical purposes means the Great Powers, fails within the next few years to adopt a workable plan for peace and disarmament, the Titans may become involved in a wrestling match, the arena stretching from North China across Manchuria and Korea to the Japan Sea.

Such an eventuality, now apparently remote and certainly undesired, haunts the minds of clear-sighted Japanese like an evil specter. For if the two Titans spring at each other's throats, no Japanese can anticipate or have the slightest confidence that either belligerent will respect Japan's neutrality, even though its new Constitution commits

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the Government to unilateral disarmament and renunciation of war.

II

Japan's geographical position is such that both contestants will want to use its territory as a springboard. To those Japanese who take a long view of things, this is the most disturbing thought, far more disturbing than the current political wrangling and labor strife which beset their country.

Nor is this fear a mere figment of the imagination. Can anyone with political acumen fail to understand why the U.S.S.R. demanded (and obtained) the Kurile Islands at Potsdam; why Moscow insisted, though unsuccessfully, upon making Hokkaido, Japan's second largest island lying a stone's throw from Saghalien, now completely Russian, an exclusively Soviet zone of occupation; why Stalin persuaded Roosevelt to approve the Russian plan to take over from China not only Port Arthur but a half-interest in Dairen and in most of the Manchurian railways? The answer to these questions is as clear as the motives which caused Russia to occupy Northern Korea before the Americans could get there.

It is no comfort to the Japanese to hear rumors, already abroad in Tokyo, to the effect that the United States, from motives of precaution and self-protection, secretly considers Japan as the first line of American defense in the Far East. One even hears that the well-equipped naval port of Yokosuka, not far from Tokyo, is slated for semi-permanent occupation by the U. S. Navy.

Is Japan, disarmed, to see an alien power arming itself within the Japanese home islands, thus depriving the defeated nation of the neutral status envisaged, ironically, by the very Constitution which the victorious power conceived and bestowed upon the conquered?

If Japan had to choose between Russia and the United States as overlord, its people would unhesitatingly choose the latter. That, however, is neither here nor there. The point is that no situation should be allowed to develop which could compel Japan to make this fateful choice. That defeated nation should be permitted to remain neutral and unarmed, and to work out its own destiny.

Japan's disarmament and neutrality are bound to become precarious unless China ceases, and ceases soon, to be the danger spot of the Orient. It is in this sense that General Marshall's assumption of the Secretaryship of State is of vital interest to the Japanese.

As they see it, America is committed to defend two lines of policy in the Far East. One is the maintenance of the Open Door and the territorial integrity of China. The other is the maintenance of the Balance of Power. The first is familiar to most Americans. The second is

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recognized by few but is nevertheless as traditional with America as the first.

III

In a letter to Senator Lodge (June 16, 1905) President Theodore Roosevelt said:

> "While Russia's triumph would have been a blow to civilization, her destruction as an eastern Asiatic Power would also in my opinion be unfortunate. It is best that she should be left face to face with Japan so that each may have a moderative action on the other."

Here is an accurate description of the policy America wittingly or unwittingly has followed since the turn of this century.

When Japan became too powerful, the United States, whether under a Republican or Democratic Administration, strove to check its expansionist tendencies. American intervention in Siberia in 1918, the Washington Conference of 1921-22, American recognition of Soviet Russia in 1933, American support of the Chinese Nationalist Government against Japan -- all these had in view the maintenance of the Balance of Power as well as of the Open Door. Indeed, the two are interdependent. The one implies the other.

Now, with Japan eliminated and China to all appearances hopelessly mired, the balance is completely tipped in Russia's favor. The question of China's internal chaos is in reality the question of maintaining a balance between Russia and America in the Far East. To say that Washington should abandon the allegedly corrupt, tyrannical, autocratic regime of Chiang Kai-shek in order to help Communist China is an oversimplification of a complex situation.

If the Communists at Yenan had no ties with Moscow, this idea might be practicable. However, the fact is that Communists everywhere still regard the Kremlin as their oracle. Not so long ago Mao Tse-tung, head of Communist China, made a pilgrimage to Moscow. So did Maurice Thorez of France. The general belief is that these Communist leaders act in compliance with Moscow directives.

For America to help Yenan in place of Nanking would, under such circumstances, be to tip the balance still further in Russia's favor. This will not and cannot happen unless America decides to fly in the face of history, its own included.

For the first time in American history a statesman-soldier versed in the strategy and logistics of the Pacific, and with an intimate personal knowledge of the inwardness of Chinese politics, Chinese statesmen and Chinese soldiers, occupies the chair of Secretary of State.

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And it is assumed that he sees eye to eye with General MacArthur in the engrossing problems of the Orient. This, at least, is reassuring to the Japanese.

IV

As the Japanese analyze the situation, the problem of China cannot be settled between Washington and Nanking and Yenan; it will have to be settled between Washington and Moscow. Up until the eve of World War I, China was the subject of secret diplomatic dealing among the chancelleries of Europe. Thanks to the American policy of the Open Door and the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination, China for a time gained control of its own diplomacy.

Now China is back to where it was four decades ago. The Stalin-Roosevelt agreement in regard to Manchuria, concluded without Chinese knowledge, was a clear sign of this reactionary trend. The world will soon see whether Secretary Marshall will be forced to follow the example set by the late President.

It may be that Washington and Moscow will mutually agree to keep hands off in China's civil strife. The problem for the new Secretary of State lies in the difficulty of being certain that Moscow can be relied upon to adhere to its side of the bargain. It must be remembered that the sprawling land mass that is Russia is contiguous to the territory of Red China along a remote and extensive frontier. And the tacit alliance existing between Yenan and Moscow is a factor that bodes no good. In The New Democracy, bible of Communist China, its author, Mao Tse-tung, insists that all groups coming under his regime must subscribe to an alliance between China and Russia.

Whatever course may be followed by Washington, Japan hopes, selfishly enough, that China will cease to be a festering cause of friction between Russia and America. Owen Lattimore, by no means Japanophile, in 1932 wrote of Japan in his scholarly book, Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict:

> "The nation that emerged after the schooling was not an Eastern nation with an external Western armor but a nation which has integrated itself with the West, has continued to be a vigorous member of the West, and has carried on, in the East, the work of the West."

Culturally, a renascent Japan may well be the first line of American defense in the Far East. In the military sense, Japan should not be regarded as an outpost of any alien Power.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. IV, NO. 9

By Frank C. Hanighen February 26, 1947

To those who continue to criticize the work of the present Congress under Republican leadership, Senator Wallace White of Maine (Rep.) has made a cogent answer. His statement appeared in the Congressional Record on February 17, but has received virtually no publicity. This latter fact is indeed a commentary on the press coverage.

Taking up details of Congressional procedure, the magnitude of which is rarely understood by constituents, the Senator pointed out that in the first month, the present Congress received the unprecedented number of 8,177 nominations, compared to only 456 and 1,339 in the corresponding months of the Seventy-Ninth and Seventy-Eighth Congresses respectively. Also, last month 472 bills were introduced and referred to committees. These were all public bills, for the new Reorganization Act provides for handling private bills outside the regular procedure. In the corresponding months of the two previous sessions there were 426 and 591 bills (including private bills). Three bills each were passed in the first month by the Eightieth, Seventy-Ninth and Seventy-Eighth Congresses. The Eightieth passed 5 Joint Resolutions as against none by the two preceding Congresses. White added a table showing performances of the three bodies -- all reflecting very favorably on the present one.

It should be remembered that this record of the Eightieth Congress was achieved despite various handicaps: (1) Political control changed from one party to another -- a shift always involving important and laborious changes in Congressional organization; (2) L'Affaire Bilbo delayed the business of the Senate for several days; (3) The Eightieth Congress had to grapple with the innovations of the Reorganization Act; (4) In accordance with a recommendation of that Act, the floor sessions were reduced to three days per week so as to allow more uninterrupted time for members to attend committee meetings and engage in their office work.

"All in all, Mr. President, the current session of the Eightieth Congress in its first month of activity stands high in comparison with other sessions in recent years," concluded Senator White.

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Official Washington feels grave concern -- far more than is given public expression -- about the British plight. The coal and industrial crisis, it is believed, is symptomatic of a deep-seated malady in the British body economic and much apprehension prevails as to the chances of recovery. Naturally, there is widespread sympathy for the British people, but it is realized that even if such sympathy inspires further American help, the problem of getting Britain again on its feet is a long-range and complicated matter. At a recent private gathering, we heard a member of Mr. Truman's cabinet express the opinion that Britain's main hope rests in the export of a considerable part of its population. Such talk, we hope exaggerated, is indicative of the none too cheerful official view.

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Notes From All Over ---- Under Russian auspices, the Socialist Unity Party in the Soviet zone has completed the draft of a Constitution for a united, centralized Germany, according to reliable informants. Our press has so far made no mention of this very important move, except quite incidentally in a story to the New York Times (February 15). This Constitution may well be the surprise which some American officials fear the Soviets will spring on Secretary Marshall at Moscow. It is considered quite likely that this plan will appeal much more to the Germans (who will

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some day have to run their own government anyway) than our talk about the further decentralization of an already virtually dismembered country.

Recent reports that the Dutch Government is seeking United States military equipment to deal with "terrorists" in Indonesia are interpreted by Washington observers as an indication that some Dutch circles have not yet abandoned the idea of an eventual reconquest of the rich Indonesian territories. Dutch strategy, some say, may consist of amassing sufficient forces in the peripheral islands for an eventual assault on the recently recognized Indonesian Republic, in the central islands of Java and Sumatra. This would follow the pattern of French action in Indo-China. (See HUMAN EVENTS, January 15, 1947.) Such a plan is quite understandable in view of the impoverishment which Holland suffered through loss of her Asiatic colonies. But Washington shows little inclination to oblige with sale of such military material. Moreover, the Dutch people seem unlikely to back such a venture. Reports from Holland indicate that recruiting for overseas duty meets with increasing difficulties.

The pattern of Russian behavior in Northern Korea resembles that in Eastern Europe. Under the guise of punishing "collaborators," the Russians are liquidating Korean business men and landowners who had managed to carry on under Japanese rule. Many others have had to flee into the U. S. occupied zone in Southern Korea. Their number is estimated by some to be as high as 800,000, or about 10 per cent of the population of the northern zone. Many thousands of Communist-trained Koreans, who had fled to Siberia to escape the Japanese, have been returned, installed as puppets and are busy organizing an army. To replace the old and admittedly backward sharecropper system, the Soviet authorities have proclaimed a "free peasantry." Unluckily for the peasants, however, the 50 per cent of their crops that used to go to the landowners is no longer levied on the basis of actual crop returns, but of production quotas imposed by the State. And the quotas are high. Thus as "taxes," the peasant now actually pays from 60 to 80 per cent of his crops, instead of the former 50 per cent.

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The present Congress, which has already shown considerable statesmanship in tackling major reforms such as the limitation of presidential tenure, might well apply its talents to the reform of our radio. A very timely memorandum by Rolf Kaltenborn, son of the well-known radio commentator, and himself a teacher of political science at Yale, points out that the law requires the impartial allotment of radio time only during election campaigns. At other times, broadcasting companies are free to allot time to political speakers as they see fit. Since the days of President Coolidge, but especially under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, when New Deal propagandists had the "Golden Voice" at their disposal, this system has worked greatly to the benefit of the party in power.

A Republican Congress has a strong incentive to curtail this advantage of a Democratic President, whatever the qualities of radio delivery. It is to be hoped that Republican leaders will possess enough foresight to see that a system that promotes one-party rule is a threat to our liberties, regardless of which party is in power. At least so far as radio "charm" is concerned, the country might well have been better off with less Coolidge, and a lot less F.D.R.

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In a section of the great American hinterland which we shall not identify, their lingers the story of a rough-and-ready backwoodsman who sought, and obtained, appointment to the bench. His first case, a trial for murder, irritated; by reason

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of legal technicalities. So His Honor decided to make his charge to the jury short: "If you boys will hurry up with your verdict, I can sentence this guy to death in time for you to get home for supper."

Somehow the story comes to mind on reading the following in the New York Times of February 21: "President Truman served notice today [Feb. 20] that he would renew his appeal for legislation authorizing universal military training as soon as he has heard from a special committee of prominent educators, clergymen and business leaders who are studying the subject."

That hand-picked committee, whose members for the most part are known to favor the fact -- though not the name -- of conscription, was appointed by the President on December 20. "You are not to be rushed," the President said to them at that time. But now it appears to be a case of "getting home for supper." The advisory report, we learn, is being hammered out rapidly. HUMAN EVENTS is willing to bet a year's subscription against a cancelled one-cent stamp that Dr. Karl T. Compton and his colleagues will advocate "universal training." We offer even higher odds against the risk that these "prominent educators, clergymen and business leaders" will call conscription by that name. [F.M.]

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Speaking of conscription serves to turn our thought to the report made public by the President's Amnesty Board last week. It notes that, as of 18 months after the close of military hostilities, fewer than 800 of 13,000 convicted draft law violators remain in prison. There are, says the report, "only 12 Conscientious Objectors among that number" -- those still deprived of freedom.

The word "only" seems out of place, in a country where the individual is still supposed to be important and where there has as yet been no formal cancellation of his Constitutional guarantees. No brief for Conscientious Objectors as such is expressed in observing that the imprisonment of "only 12" high-minded people might, at one time or another, have made quite a difference in history. We can imagine George III reporting to Parliament that, to put down the American rebellion, it had been necessary for him to imprison "only 12" objectors to his rule -- Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, a couple of Adamses, a couple of Morrises, Hancock, Rutledge, Carroll. (Substitutions permitted.)

Or, further back, Pilate might have kept another dozen Conscientious Objectors -- those whom we now call the Apostles -- indefinitely in jail, informing Caesar that they were "only 12" in number. It would have made a difference.

As a postscript to the report of the President's Amnesty Board we suggest the following, from John Stuart Mill's Essay on Liberty: "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." [F.M.]

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While famine stalks large areas of the world, the part played by so-called "land reforms" in the creation of food shortages has received all too little attention. In Poland, Hungary and Eastern Germany -- once the breadbasket of Europe -- the Russians and their puppets have ruthlessly broken up well-functioning estates that used to produce the bulk of urban food supplies. The new farms are usually kept so small that they do not suffice even for subsistence farming, thus forcing the new "free-holders" into certain servitude to the State and its kolkhozes (collective farms). In Eastern Germany, for instance, the Soviets distributed more than 4 million acres of land, but the average new farm is no larger than 13 acres. The same pattern is described vividly in an excellent, but as yet unpublished study of the first Soviet occupation of Estonia (1940-41), written by Professor Edgar Kant, distinguished Estonian scholar and a former Rockefeller fellow.

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Notes and Quotes

Arthur A. Ballantine, T. Jefferson Coolidge, John W. Hanes and Roswell Magill have all held the important and non-political post of Under Secretary of the Treasury, together filling that office for a period of 16 years. In an unprecedented joint statement, which for some reason received little publicity, they have endorsed the budget slash of 6 billion dollars recommended by the Joint Legislative Budget Committee and voted by the House. The statement read, in part:

"We believe that $31.5 billion is more than enough to run the Federal Government in fiscal 1948, the third year after hostilities. We wish, therefore, to commend those thoughtful and courageous Members of Congress who have decided that the government can adequately discharge its responsibilities with that sum, vast as it is, at a time when easy spending is the line of least resistance."

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Another outspoken ex-official is Adolph A. Berle, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State, who comments on the pending peace treaty with Italy in a memorandum released by Common Cause, Inc. Says Mr. Berle: "The wisest course would be to urge the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate to study, and conduct hearings on this treaty; but that it should recommend to the Senate that ratification of this treaty be withheld for the time being. . . . This suggestion must not be considered as even remotely implying a course of American isolationism like that adopted after World War I. The United States is now locked by circumstances and history into the European situation. She could not isolate herself if she wished. . . . The first reason for delaying ratification is that the treaty as it stands is not satisfactory; that it is not, in fact, a treaty of peace with Italy at all; and that more time may permit repairing some of the injustices of the treaty. . . . There remains the single question: is not an immediate settlement, however bad, better than continuing conditions where there is not peace at all? This is, in effect, the principal argument for immediate ratification. It is not sufficient. In the absence of a just European settlement, or of the clarification of relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers, or both, there is no reason to believe that this treaty, even if ratified, would constitute a settlement at all."

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Robert M. Hutchins is a paradox among college presidents, having no faith in football and much in rigorous mental discipline as a campus asset. He carries this disturbing integrity into a speech reprinted as a pamphlet by HUMAN EVENTS paradoxically entitled "The Good News of Damnation," which is: "the news of the atomic bomb. . . . A year and a half ago we all ran for the nearest exit shouting, 'There must never be another war; we must have world government right away; save civilization'; and day after day the agencies of mass communication pointed out that we could now destroy ourselves in so cheap, spectacular, swift, effective, and horrible fashion that at last something really significant would have to be done about introducing law into the world and reforming the peculiar animals who inhabit it.

"But apparently you can get used to anything. We have now returned to our normal occupations and preoccupations. We have lately been absorbed in Christmas shopping, New Year's celebrations, the coal strike, the wickedness of the Russians, the fate of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, by which I mean, of course, the Democratic and Republican parties, and the prospects of reduced taxation. We have succeeded in forgetting what we all know, that the atomic bomb hangs over us and that it alters the whole outlook of life in America."

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